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411 171

ceived a blade as a surface find from Krīkatí territory. Several Western Gaviões specimens have been published; still another, reputedly Krahõ', departs so widely from all other Timbira equivalents in its decoration that I am inclined to doubt the provenience assigned to it."[80]

In my day the anchor axes did not linger even in ceremonial usage. I obtained my Rąmkõ'kamekra sample from an aged Indian woman reckoned my "aunt," but who was nevertheless censured by her other relatives for giving it to me. She had had it in custody since the death of its last owner, her brother Krąmpą'n. Of an afternoon or evening he was said to have occasionally held it in the plaza while singing "Yõõ heyõ kąire ýêê!," as well as the names of his ancestors. He had obtained the weapon from his uncle, Mąyapíri, a great warrior who is supposed to have used it in actual combat.

727 783

Slayer's seclusion.—The slayer of an enemy is called hukanã'ra (persevercr; aukanã', persevere, imperative), or hąprẽ' (brave one). Directly after the killing he paints himself with charcoal and draws a broad red stripe across his mouth. As soon as he gets back to the village he goes into a month's retreat, during which period he sits on a special little platform bed and may neither laugh nor wash himself. His sustenance is restricted to roasted maize. At the close of his seclusion his mother or sister prepares manioc paste and his maternal uncle goes hunting, the flesh of the game killed providing material for three meat pies nearly a meter in diameter. The killer takes a bath and is decorated with falcon down. After the usual afternoon log race a youth brings firewood to the plaza and kindles a fire, near which the men, led by a precentor, sing the same song characteristic of the hõkrowatiyõ ceremony of the pepyé initiation (p. 198 f.). The decorated slayer steps among them and shouts a statement about his exploit. Before sunset the solemnity is over.

On the following morning the three pies are deposited on the boulevard in front of the slayer's maternal home. Admonished by the elders seated in the plaza to go through the whole procedure in proper fashion, the killer slowly advances toward the pies. Making the sign of a deer with the index and middle fingers of his uplifted hands, he imitates the snort of a shy deer. Thus he leaps over the food and proceeds toward the councilors, to whom he presents himself. These then have the pies fetched and divide them up among themselves.

648 175 728

Treaties and alliances.—Formal treaties and alliances occurred both between Timbira groups and between such and Neobrazilians. To be sure, Ribeiro, supported in this by Pohl, expresses a very derogatory opinion as to the value of such agreements:

> Sua inclinação para o roubo estranho é por tal forma excessiva que rompe toda a alliança logo que possam furtar uns poucos de pregos velhos.
>
> (Their inclination to rob outsiders is so extreme that they break any treaty as soon as they have a chance to steal a few old nails.)[81]

However, Ribeiro himself describes several instances in which a solemnly concluded pact was ruptured on trifling pretexts not by the Indians, but by the Neobrazilians. In 1815 he witnessed the entrance of from five to six hundred Põrekamekra into São Pedro de Alcantara in order to make peace:

> . . . ás sete horas da manhã, entraram desarmados na povoação formando cada sexo uma columna que marchavam parallelas entre si, e á testa dellas vinha o seu chefe maioral chamado Coerit, homem com 50 annos de edade, muito respeitado entre os seus, e de uma conducta tal, nesta administração que não parecia um barbaro selvagem. . . . Traziam elles todos uns ramos verdes nas mãos,

[80] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 69 f., 126–128; Rydén, Brazilian Anchor Axes, figs. 3 E, 6 C, 6 F; Simões da Silva, Machado crescente.

[81] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 20. Pohl, *supra*.

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signal caracteristico da paz, e ellas os braços encruzados; cantavam alternadamente, e não com aquella algazarra que é propria dos seus divertimentos; mas davam por alguma forma a conhecer, no assustado dos seus semblantes, a incerteza que tinham da sinceridade dos homens que vinham a communicar."

(...at 7 o'clock in the morning they marched into the place unarmed, each lineage forming a column marching parallel to the others, and headed by their paramount chief Cocrit, a man of fifty, highly esteemed by his people and of such conduct in office that he did not seem to be a savage at all.... All the men were carrying green twigs in their hands, the characteristic emblem of peace, and the women had their arms crossed. They sang alternately and not with so much noise as distinguishes their amusements. However, the alarm in their facial expression indicated their uncertainty as to the trustworthiness of the men with whom they sought an understanding.)[148]

Here is the fate of these same Põrekamekra according to Ribeiro after they had settled near the spot two months later:

O chefe Cocrit foi injustamente deposto, e retido como prisioneiro no logar, e sobre os demais imperou por tal forma a tyrannia dos hospedantes que fez confundir uma parte com os selvagens Macamekrans, e fugiro reste em desesperação.

(The chief Cocrit was unjustly deposed and kept prisoner in the village, and the rest were so burdened by the arbitrary domination of their hosts that part of them fused with the wild Macamekrans (= Krahõ') and the rest fled in despair.)

There are certainly Timbira tribes who have during the last century lived in unity with others, viz. the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye; the Apạ'nyekra and Krahõ'; the Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Kukóekamekra. Further, some of the tribes never broke the treaties made with Neobrazilians, for example, the Apạ'nyekra, the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal, and the Kre'pụ'mkateye. Other tribes, once bitter enemies, have formally concluded peace and united, as did the Rạmkõ'kamekra and the Čạ'kamekra. The ceremonial exchange of two precentresses customary on such occasions has been described. The institution of honorary chiefs (p. 9) likewise proves that the Timbira attached more importance to permanent peace than to incessant hostility.

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Visits.—Nevertheless mutual visits of Timbira groups, even when at peace, are not a simple affair. Several days after my first arrival among the Rạmkõ'kamekra I wished to visit the Apạ'nyekra, who lived only some fifty kilometers to the west. The two groups were on terms of peace, so I asked the councilors to let me hire a young man as guide and groom for my mount. To my astonishment this necessitated deliberations and negotiations protracted for days, and finally I was given for companions two men of mature years instead of the one young lad requested—one of the oldest councilors and another elder named Kopkré, whom I subsequently discovered to be a professional moderator and peacemaker. In reply to my subsequent query, why they had not provided *any* youth for the job, I learnt that that would have been inadvisable since a young man might easily commit some impropriety furnishing pretexts for hostilities and also causing me annoyance. However, such eventualities were not to be feared in the case of old Kentúm and the mediator Kopkré, whose sister, moreover, was married to an Apạ'nyekra.

In the hamlet of Porquinhos the chief, Chico Noleto Ka'kụ'lu, received me as his people are wont to receive strange "Christians." He regretted having nothing whatsoever to offer me and incessantly demanded rather than begged for anything that came into his head, using such phrases as, "What! You haven't even brought me such and such an object?" When I offered him some tobacco and a batch of cigarette paper, he refused to accept them on the ground that the present was insufficient, whereupon I calmly pocketed it, giving him nothing at all. At this point Kopkré displayed all his talents, introducing me to the second chief, an honorary chief

[148] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 66–67.

1 [only on p. 126, see category 116 --- Analyst]